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WHAT ARE THE DEMANDS OF THE REFORM-AGITATOR?

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BY

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CAMBRIDGE

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WHAT ARE THE DEMANDS OF THE REFORM-AGITATOR?

SENSATION is the order of the day, and there is keen competition among those who wield the pen, or pose for the public eye. We become accustomed to the bang of the anarchist and the drivel of the agitator. Occasionally, however, the ordinary citizen, striving to keep his mental equilibrium, meets with views so extreme, and flowing from a source so unexpectedly radical, that he is fairly jostled out of the even tenor of his way.

This occurred not long ago upon the discovery, in a newspaper published in a small New England town, of these editorial views concerning the Lawrence strike: —

RUSSIA OUTDONE

By means of alluring literature and smooth-tongued agents, the ranks of the workers in "the Free land of America" are recruited from the "down-trodden" nations of Europe. Russia is an especially fertile field for the emigration agent. America is pictured as a

FREE country where wages are high and the people free from political and official persecution. These agents are employed by an organization of employers of labor in order that there may be a steady supply of low-priced labor coming into the country all the time to combat the growing tendency toward higher wages and better living conditions. It is against the immigration laws of the United States to make an alien contract, but there are ways of evading the laws and lawyers to show these ways.

Just at present these foreigners are being given a taste of what "Freedom" means in America at Lawrence. The Russian outrages of which we have read so much suffer little by comparison. The striking workers have learned that they must either work at starvation wages or starve on no wages at all. They must not gather to talk over their grievances. They must not speak to any working-man not a striker. They must not speak above a whisper. They are surrounded by a cordon of soldiers and armed policemen and any act of theirs is likely to be termed a "disturbance of the peace" and they are likely to be thrown into jail. Read the record of the Lawrence Police Court: Fines imposed for loitering on the street; for addressing slurring remarks at a soldier; for speaking to a strike breaker; for making loud noises in public places; for failure to return home when ordered by a policeman or soldier. These charges are "proved" by the mere assertion of the arresting officer and no denial is believed. In a word, the city of Lawrence is being

governed by a military despotism, with the whole power of the State aimed at the breaking of the strike and the forcing of the workers back into the mills, without any change of conditions of labor being effected.

The strikers have been denied the right to send their children out of the city where they may be safe from the scenes of disorder and where they may cease to be a burden to their parents during the progress of the strike. The Fugitive Slave Law was of no greater assistance to the slave-owners than the laws as they are interpreted and enforced in Lawrence.

A strike leader is charged with murder and is in danger of the electric chair because he is alleged to have counselled violence on the part of the strikers and because a woman was shot by a policeman or a militiaman during a riot. In order that the strikers may be deprived of his assistance in the carrying-on of the strike, he is held in jail without bail awaiting trial.

Americans have condemned the Russian Government for its acts of cruelty and official oppression. We have invited the oppressed to come to our free shores and escape tyranny, and when they have gotten here they have found tyranny no less severe than that from which they believed they were escaping.

Governor Foss has the power to put an end to these conditions at Lawrence, but he seems to be in no mood to do so. His alleged friendship for the people ends with election day and he becomes at once a partisan of the class to which he belongs — the "Cap-

tains of Industry" who hold dividends more sacred than human life.

An effect was produced similar, probably, to that which would be experienced if the hands of time were to be suddenly set back several centuries; and our citizen was moved to ask a few questions concerning the exact purport of the article and the attitude in general of the paper. These were his inquiries to the editor: —

I read with much interest and care the editorial entitled "Russia Outdone" appearing in the "———" of February 29th ult.

Is it possible that the little paper which seems to be endeavoring to place itself in the bosom of every family stands, in matters so serious as this, for conclusions which are based solely upon assumed premises?

That they are assumed is best illustrated by the fourth paragraph: —

"A strike leader is . . . in danger of the electric chair because he is *alleged* to have counselled violence on the part of the strikers and because a woman *was shot by a policeman or a militiaman*, during a riot."

Have we come to the point where a case properly before the courts is to be tried and decided by our "———," without a hearing?

The case of Mr. Ettor has not yet been heard. How, then, can the author of this article state as a cold fact that the deceased woman was shot by any-

body in particular? Why does the author distinguish between the *allegation* as to the counselling of violence by Ettor and the allegation by Ettor that the woman was shot by a policeman or militiaman? How does the author know?

In the second paragraph he makes a series of statements which to uninitiated minds are very apt to be taken *pro confesso:* "They must not gather to talk over their grievances; they must not speak to any workingman not a striker; they must not speak above a whisper. In a word, the city of Lawrence is being governed by a military despotism, with the whole power of the State aimed at the breaking of the strike and the forcing of the workers back into the mills without any change of conditions of labor being effected."

Now, every one of those statements is open to contradiction; and I am using the mildest terms possible under the circumstances. There is not and never was a law or rule in Lawrence or any other part of the United States of America to prevent people from gathering to talk over their grievances. There never was a law or a rule to prevent one man speaking to another, unless the speaker is obnoxious. Neither the people who want to work at Lawrence nor the author of this editorial, nor anybody else, is willing to be annoyed. Every one of us has a right to attend to his own business and to demand that he be not molested.

There is no such rule of law or of the police board or of the militia as would prevent a man speaking above a whisper. People have no right to raise a pub-

lic riot; they have no right to make themselves publicly obnoxious. They have no right to gather for the purpose of talking over their grievances in a way which constitutes a public nuisance or which prevents the transaction of business or the performance of labor.

There is no desire on the part of the city of Lawrence or the militia or the mill-owners, or anybody else, to *force* the workers back into the mills; they went out of their own accord and they are at liberty to stay out.

If this editorial is intended to be an argument in favor of the right of any class of labor to coerce other laborers or other classes into adopting the dogmas and the views entertained by the first-named class, then I can see that the "—— ——" does not stand for the principles that it purports to uphold.

The article is a diatribe against oppression. It and the "——" call for freedom. Is it freedom to laborers who want to work to be coerced into idleness?

I have watched the progress of this sort of thing for a good many years. I have myself labored, on a farm, in a grain store, in a bank, in a law office — on wages and on salary. And I have been laboring ever since I reached a point where I became independent, so-called. To my way of thinking this editorial is absolutely unfair and unjust. Not alone to the mill-owners and the city of Lawrence and the militia and the State Government, but to every reasoning, honest man in the United States of America. It is based upon principles absolutely false and unsound. And, while we

cannot attack the logic, yet the premises are absolutely preassumed; and most of the alleged facts, if not pure fiction, are yet to be proven.

These "poor, down-trodden laborers," about whom this editorial makes such an outcry, are far better off, as a matter of fact, in this country than they were in the countries from which they came. The trouble is that there are in all countries certain people, dependent upon others for their means of livelihood, who do not appreciate the fact that the very presence of capital, and accumulation, aggregation and consolidation of it, through thrift, enterprise, and ability, is what gives them their employment. This class includes a good many young men who absorb the false doctrines of fanatics and unpractical people. This absorption, combined with just enough education to cause them to be dangerous to themselves as well as the public, and contaminated by a desire to emulate the example of many who, through thrift, or otherwise, have the ability to indulge in a little more extravagance in their way of living, is to a great extent responsible for these outbursts in the way of demands for more and more remuneration for work which is not worth any more. A friend of mine recently told me that on his way to and from business he had occasion to pass a boot-black parlor. That invariably, both at noon and at night, the place was filled with boys of sixteen, eighteen, twenty, or twenty-five years old, all of them with cigarettes or cigars in their mouths, waiting to have their shoes polished, at a cost of ten cents. That most of these

young people are earning perhaps ten, fifteen, or twenty dollars a week. Is it necessary in these days for wage-earners to have their boots blacked by others while they sit and smoke a ten-cent cigar?

What is the principal object behind most of the demands for increased wages? Look at the moving picture shows, the saloons, the cigar-stores, the boot-black emporiums; look at the feathers on the hats, the marabou and silks on the backs, and you have the answer.

It is very common to attribute all this trouble, which comes periodically at least in this country, to the capitalist classes, so-called. From a sense of justice and fairness, and knowing both sides of the question, as I do know it and have known it for thirty-five years past, I have only this to say — that if there is no longer a premium on thrift, and if the principles, which the author of the editorial referred to seems to believe and advocate, are sound, and if this country is reaching a point where one man must not make any more than another, or if, as Mr. Ettor stated in open court, the production by labor belongs *all of it* to labor, we shall finish as we began when Plymouth Colony was settled, — by the resumption of a condition of society where everybody lived on his plot of land and made his own mittens and boots and jumpers; and where there was no such thing as a laboring class, because, while all were laborers, all were independent, — commercially independent.

If the author of that article can name any intermediate point which can be reached by and through true

principles of economics, and where everybody will be satisfied, it would be the basis of the most interesting editorial he ever wrote.

I have read scores of articles, — by Bishop Potter, President Eliot, Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, Morgan, Rabbi Fleischer, Roosevelt, and dozens and dozens of other people, in all walks of life, — articles written for the laboring class, so-called; articles intended to assist in the determination of the question constantly before us. I have never yet heard any one state in clear terms where the line is to be drawn; and there, let me remind you, is where the trouble arises: namely, the uncertainty of it all. You cannot do business with uncertainties surrounding you. There must be fixed quantities, fixed values, something tangible, upon which to construct progressive business.

I do not wish to enter upon any discussion as to what constitutes a living wage. I would like to say this, however: no one of those workmen has died from hunger and no one of the families of those *who wish to and are able to work* has gone to a poor-house. Nearly every single one of the foreigners has sent money back to his native country. A Polish laborer said to a friend of mine, "You need never have any fear about the Pole; after he has been here two years he will have a surplus of cash on hand." Now, what does that statement mean? Why, it means that he has already become a capitalist. Everybody knows what the Italian is capable of doing; and it is nobody's

business what he lives on while he is doing it. I myself looked over the books of the store on a cotton plantation in the delta of Arkansas, and saw innumerable cases where Italians working on that plantation had sent and were sending back to banks in Italy, after a few years of labor, drafts amounting to one, two, three, and even four or five thousand dollars.

And that leads to the silly distinction between capitalist and laborer out of which so much material is made by the demagogue and the labor agitator; neither of them taking up the cudgels from a humanitarian standpoint, *as a rule.*

We are all laborers as long as we live. We cannot escape it. We can all become capitalists by and through the means of thrift and industry and self-discipline, but we can never tear ourselves away from being laborers so long as we do any sort of business. I don't mean to include in this sweeping statement the idle rich, of which there are not so many in this world as has been generally supposed, and of which the number is becoming smaller and smaller each year. Even on that point, if one wished to digress a bit, something could be said in favor of him who chooses to live upon a fixed income without doing any work. He certainly does not take business from the people in any profession which he might enter, nor does he take positions which can be filled by others who have less income. And finally, he settles his own problem because, if he is simply an idle person or what somebody designated as a "gentlemanly vagrant," he will gradually dwindle, mentally,

physically, and probably morally, into a non-prolific nonentity.

I would call the attention of the author of the editorial to a single principle out of many of economics which he either never knew or has not taken into account, and which is this, — the man who does the greatest good for the commonwealth, meaning the country as a whole, is not the man who throws his money away, or hoards it in a stocking, or spends it for no profit; but the man who prudently invests his savings in enterprises, — mills, railroads, factories, or retail business, — all of which give employment to others.

If this editorial had had one saving point it might have been excusable. If the author had chosen to say, "I believe in socialism; I believe in labor unionism; I believe in labor standing up for its rights; I believe in laws that will cut down the opportunities for creating aggregations of capital in the hands of very few," and all that sort of thing, — it might pass as a mere expression of opinion, and of an opinion in most of which all thinking men of sound judgment may concur. But neither he nor any other can ever hope to gain anything of value, for himself or the community, or the commonwealth, by advocating or condoning the destruction of property or interference with commerce, or business, or the right of men to labor unmolested. I would not raise a finger or interpose a word of objection to the article, if it entertained or admitted, or even alluded to, the real and basic principles of economics governing all relations of employer and employee.

I believe I am as humane as any person, but there are certain fixed principles which must be observed by everybody if we are to continue to live under any civic contract. I do not say the laws cannot be bettered; but while they stand on the books they must be observed, or the civic entity must fall.

If it falls, does the author of this editorial believe that, with everybody on the same basis, there would be no advancement by certain members of society more rapid than by others? Does he believe that, if those advances were rendered impossible by law, the progressive element would not fall back and the whole race deteriorate, until a state of things approaching barbarism would be reached?

Let the author amend his editorial by the single statement alone, that *law and order must be maintained*, and he then boils his argument down to the proposition embodied in these questions, — Must a mill-owner employ labor whether he wishes to or not? Must he stand by and see certain people interfere with the employment by him of such labor as he chooses to take in?

If these principles are to be established, we shall see business as dead as the renowned "Chelsea"; and if business is dead, who profits? Does the laborer? Does the socialist? Does the editor of a newspaper?

The letter was published in due form and with headlines which doubtless to the editor

seemed appropriate, as the following editorial note was appended: —

In spite of the fact that the above communication does not conform to our rules (which require that the name of the writer be signed to communications), we decided to print the above criticism, as it is a criticism of the editor and not of any reader of this paper. It was written by a lawyer of repute and doubtless his initials will identify him sufficiently to the majority of our readers. Not having the privilege of a legal education, the editor is at a disadvantage in answering a criticism of this kind, but we freely admit that the arguments presented above are based upon an entirely different point of view than those upon which the editorial was founded, and it is our aim to get both sides of the case before our readers in order that they may form intelligent conclusions. As we have before stated, the purpose of the editor is not to unduly emphasize his own views, but to encourage discussion of this kind and we welcome criticism as well as commendation of the views expressed. As a matter of fact, the editorial entitled "Russia Outdone" has been praised in many quarters as being well in accordance with the facts as they are generally understood, and writers of far greater prominence have expressed the same views. We cannot agree with the writer in condemning the extravagance of the wage-earners in liking good clothes and luxuries, while at the same time ignoring the extravagance of

those who live upon the product of their labor. This question is too great to be settled by any mere country newspaper editor, or even by any lawyer, no matter how great his prominence, but the fundamental principle, that human rights are of more moment than property rights, must be conceded by all thinking persons.

In the same issue of the paper appeared a letter from another subscriber, as follows: —

A PLAUSIBLE PLEA FOR HIS CLIENTS

"——— ——— ———" CHALLENGED TO DEBATE

"——— ———" WRITES FROM ———

HIS VIEWS OF ARTICLE

Editor ——— :

I read with much interest and care the editorial entitled "Russia Outdone," and find it voices the sentiment of all the editors whose expressions have come to my notice, and especially the leading journals of this state.

"———" has made a very plausible but misleading plea for his clients. The last paragraph of "Editor's Note" and the statement there made, that "the fundamental principle that human rights are of more moment than property rights," contains more truth than the entire article by "———."

In no epoch of the world's history have such important questions presented themselves, or been forced upon us, for solution as those that confront us at the very threshold of this new century. Shall we, in the

solution, but repeat history, and see our nation destroyed? No! A thousand times no!

Our government can endure; our government must endure; our government shall endure; but it must be, and early become, a government "of the people, by the people, for the people."

The fundamental law of such government shall be righteousness, the controlling spirit must be the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, exemplified in substance, not in form.

Now, if "——" is as eloquent with his tongue as he is facile with his pen, and honestly desires, or rather desires honestly, to enlighten your readers upon this great question so vital to all, and is willing to publicly discuss the issue, he shall be accommodated, and the public enlightened and entertained.

And the same sheet contained this editorial: —

TO "——"

There is a wide divergence of opinion in regard to the facts in relation to the Lawrence strike, and our friend who signed himself "——" in a communication in these columns last week may be classed among those who deprecate and deplore any attempt on the part of the working class to better wage conditions. The writer takes the editor of this paper to task for having expressed the opinion that the arrest of Ettor was an outrage, and alleges that a criticism of the courts was involved in the editorial, "Russia Outdone." He asks, "Why does the author distinguish

between the allegations as to the counselling of violence by Ettor and the allegation by Ettor that the woman was shot by a policeman or a militiaman?" If we have read the records of the case correctly the woman was shot during the progress of a disturbance in which the police and militiamen used their revolvers to quell the riot, and there was no evidence to show that any of the strikers used firearms, their weapons being bits of ice and stones. Furthermore, we have always understood that in order to charge any person with being an accessory to a crime, it is first necessary to have a principal who committed the crime, and in this case no such principal is being tried. When the authorities go outside of the law in their efforts to enforce peace, we feel that we are justified in calling the act an outrage. If any one should be made amenable to law, surely it is those who have the enforcement of laws as their duty. The writer ignores entirely the arbitrary act of the chief of police of Lawrence in preventing the children of the strikers from leaving the city and the arrest of their mothers and their incarceration in jail. Yet the chief of the Lawrence police, in the hearing at Washington, has stated that he knew of no specific law justifying his act. Again we charge the act as an act of persecution.

The writer says, "Look at the moving-picture shows, the saloons, the cigar-stores, the boot-black emporiums; look at the feathers on the hats, the marabou and silks on the backs, and you have the answer." The answer to what? To the question, "What is

the principal object behind most of the demands for increased wages?" Does the writer believe that the workers in the woolen mills of Lawrence spend their hard-earned money in riotous living, following the example of those who squander easily-obtained fortunes on whims and fancies? He further states that none of these workmen has died from hunger. Is this a cause for congratulation? Must a working-man die of hunger in order to entitle him to sympathy? "Nearly every one of the foreigners has sent money back to his native country." Is this true? How can they do it on the wages they receive and still have money left to get their shoes shined and clothe themselves with silks and marabou on a weekly wage of from $6 to $9 per week?

"I believe I am as humane as any person, but there are certain fixed principles which must be observed by everybody if we are to continue to live under any civic contract . . . while the laws stand on the books they must be observed." To that we say aye. We agree with him in his statement, but we disagree with him in his application of the principles which seem to be applied by him to the laborers alone. We do not uphold the laborer in his acts of violence; but we condemn those who meet violence with violence and lawlessness with lawlessness.

We have no inclination to follow the example of our correspondent who takes three columns of space to refute the statements made in a half-column editorial. We hold no brief for either side of the question

at issue. We do believe, however, that the mill-owners have created the conditions of which the workers complain and that they are pursuing wrong tactics in forcing an issue and using the methods which they have used. Before the law the word of a laborer is as good as the word of a millionaire, yet strikers have denied and policemen and militiamen have affirmed, and in every case the word of the policeman and the word of the militiaman have been accepted as truth in the Lawrence court and the arrested person has not been given the benefit of the doubt which the law allows.

Fairly boiled down to its basic facts, the whole argument of the writer is summed up in these words: "Let the capitalist alone; let him employ such labor as he chooses for such wages as he may choose to pay. If any one objects, let him starve." We hardly feel that the majority of our readers are in accord with these views. Most capitalists will admit that they have certain obligations to society and that society has a right to protect itself. The classing as anarchists and socialists all those who demand that a just rule be made governing those who employ labor as well as those who labor avails nothing, but only serves to further inflame class prejudice and hastens the day of the inevitable strife between capital and labor, the portent of which is in the sky at the present time and which can only be prevented by wise legislation and the establishment of sound economic principles which will give capital its due and still be just to the worker who, after all, is the only creator of wealth.

It is very gratifying to know that editors of newspapers are willing to give space for outside views on a problem which is perplexing the minds of many people to-day. It is an old saying that a child can formulate a question to answer which would require a lifetime. The subjects treated in the foregoing editorials and correspondence have furnished themes for a complete library of literature. The strife between capital and labor has been with us for some time past. It is the reflection, not the portent, which one sees in the sky.

It is interesting to note that the challenge to debate assumes, without any knowledge or grounds for the assumption, that the inquiries sent to the editor were "plausible and misleading pleas for clients." The writer thereof had no clients which needed any such plea. If his communication did not affect the public as a whole, it was not worth reading. The challenge mistakes the nature of the subject-matter, which is neither a campaign issue nor material for a revival meeting. Of all the questions which we in this world must pass upon, those under consideration should be treated most calmly and rationally. If either one of the disputants in

public discussion were not shot or dynamited before he reached his peroration, it would be somewhat remarkable. These are not subjects for public debate. They demand the use of the soundest logic and of terms the least misleading. Not forensics but reason should be brought to bear.

The inflaming of class prejudice can be brought about no more effectually than by the use of distorted economic principles, and vague and misleading generalities.

Now, taking up a few of the points involved, let us briefly note that it would seem to be an axiom of the agitator that manual labor is harder than any other form of labor, if we are to judge by their outpourings of sympathy for the laboring-man. While independence is to be desired, of course, yet any man, who has been through the mill of manual labor and has subsequently reached the so-called independent stage, knows that the duties of the latter are fully as onerous as those of the former state. His work, like that of woman, is never done. The work of the manual laborer is practically from sun to sun, and a good deal less nowadays.

It *is* a cause for congratulation that nobody

at Lawrence has suffered for food and housing. Not that the conditions cannot be improved, but that they are far from being distressing, except in rare and unusual circumstances, and even then the remedy is open to those who desire to better their conditions. The great Western Country offers a vast field. Wages are high and living healthful there.

Whether the laborer, or the clerk, or the saleswoman can dress and live in extravagant fashion on six dollars, nine dollars, or fifteen dollars per week and wear silks and marabou, is not the question. Many of them *do* dress and live extravagantly. And they want further luxury, to attain which they demand more and more in the way of remuneration for their services, regardless of the real value of those services. It may be reiterated, and emphatically, that one of the *principal* objects of the demands for increased wages is to procure this increased luxury and leisure. Not only do dependents emulate the style of living of more wealthy people, but they are coming to regard work — honest labor — that which all of our ancestors went through at some time — as beneath them. Within a week a porter in a downtown building,

a youth of perhaps twenty years of age, was complaining about the nature of his work and the hours and the pay. It was the usual story that we hear on all sides. The porter was lamenting the chances which he had lost; namely, those of greater education, and expressed the opinion that he could not be employed on any lower scale or grade than at present. Now, if that man had sufficient ambition and ability, he would do what thousands of others have done — prepare himself for better work. If he has neither the ambition nor the ability, what can he expect? and ought it not to be made clear to him that, if he will not or cannot raise himself to a higher scale, he could not have done so earlier in life? "Content is wealth," said Socrates.

In one of the editorials from which quotations have been taken, the thoroughly unjust statement is made that the whole argument of the writer of the communication referred to is summed up in these words: "Let the capitalist alone; let him employ such labor as he chooses for such wages as he may choose to pay. If any one objects, let him starve." Perhaps it might be not too much to ask that we

let the capitalist and the laborer alone; let the former employ such labor as he chooses and the latter work as he chooses, for such wages as they may agree upon. The article might support such a construction. But in all fairness, let us have both sides of the question and a clear understanding.

It is true that no reply was made to the allegations as to the culpability of the policemen at Lawrence, and as to the innocence of Ettor; nor did the article take up the subject of the holding-up, by the authorities, of the children who were to be sent to New York and elsewhere for care. And this was for the reason stated in the first letter to the editor: namely, that it is not for the newspaper editor or anybody else to decide questions which belong to the established tribunals, or other authorities, to determine. If the I. W. W. had control of the government, these questions would be open to just such treatment as the editor seems to desire; that is, they would be subject to the views of anybody and everybody, without any crystallization of those views and without any means of forcing the conclusion.

It may be admitted that there *is* a question

as to the right of the authorities to prevent the parents from sending their children out of Lawrence. The act was of very doubtful expediency and perhaps absolutely illegal. If so, one has simply to bear in mind that "there is no wrong without a remedy"; and if in the midst of the excitement anybody overstepped the bounds of his authority, the remedy will be open and ample, especially if they can show actual damage. In this connection, under our established principles of jurisprudence, it may be called to mind that if there was wrong without damage, the remedy is nominal. What damage can the parents show in this case, which appears to have been a mere technical overstepping of authority? It is true that human rights may have been interfered with, but who suffered and how much did they suffer, is the question. *Adequate* remedy awaits.

It would seem a fair contention that if I. W. W. agitators had not stirred up the workmen to the boiling-over point, the shooting would not have occurred.

Here are some of the extracts from the constitution of that association. Do they tend to produce riots, dynamiting, and shooting? As

Mr. Ettor and Mr. Giovannitti were disciples of this creed, did they, in all probability, take any part in bringing about the shooting complained of at Lawrence? Does the reformer subscribe to these tenets?

We will take any and all means to attain our object. Right and wrong does not concern us. We will not obey the laws. We will employ military tactics to the fullest extent.

It has been stated authentically that tentative overtures were recently made to Mr. Ettor by a well-meaning and unprejudiced party; one who desired to test all methods of producing peace and harmony in Lawrence and other textile centres. This man suggested that perhaps the mills could be sold by the present owners and purchased by the labor interests, on some basis fair to everybody. The answer is reported to have been, "Buy them! Why, when we are ready for that, we will walk in and take them!" Such a position needs very little comment among reasoning men; but there are many who will not or cannot reason, and to those one is tempted to put this question: Do you realize that the situation would be the same after such possession had been taken as before—with the

parties reversed? What would prevent the masses of deposed capitalists (capitalists of great and of little means) from adopting the same argument and following the same line of action? The I. W. W. refuses to recognize principles of right and wrong. Would that be their attitude if they should acquire vested interests?

Extraordinary arguments are advanced by theorists and unpractical people as to the value of manual labor. For example, it is held by some that no man is entitled to live who does not make something with his hands. Is this possible? No janitors, no overseers, no policemen, no professional men? Does the man who fells the trees, or extracts ore from the ground, or manufactures a boot, make anything more important than the man who makes the plans for the timber operation and signs a check or a note for the expenses of the season; or he who takes his chances by investing his savings in a coal-mine, which gives employment to thousands of miners; or he who builds a factory out of the money he has avoided spending, thereby assuring a livelihood to thousands of workmen? Is no man entitled to retire on the savings of a lifetime? Must he go on working until he

drops, and then give up all he has laid by in the way of property, or should he spend all he makes as he goes along through life?

If the claim referred to means that no man is entitled to live who does absolutely nothing except to spend more or less of the income of his capital, it might pass without comment. But, on the other hand, as has been stated, such a person certainly does not deprive others of the work which he might do, and his invested capital does furnish employment to others. One does not have great sympathy with the idle rich, but it is not absolutely an unanswerable argument that they are not entitled to live.

It is further claimed by these theorists that labor is not a commodity. It is a commodity in a sense; even that part of it which is given in exchange for the bare living which the world owes every man.

The services of the laborer are not different in this respect from those of the professional man; from those of the skilled artisan; from those of the capitalist. These all have commodities to be bought and sold. If the demand for the services of the capitalist falls off, he must reduce his rates. In times of depression,

the product of the artificer is reduced in price. If the doctor, lawyer, or architect cannot earn enough to maintain himself in the way he desires, he must try for more patients or clients by reducing his rates; or he must seek other fields. The product or services rendered are commodities; just as is the service of labor.

Material contained in newspapers, and editorial views, are far-reaching, as everybody knows. They are laid before the thinking and the unthinking alike, — those qualified to weigh and sift the subject-matter and those who are apt to take all such literature as indisputable fact. Many people, while able to read and understand the bare statements as expressed, are unable to read between the lines; unable to test their soundness by true principles of politics, religion, economics, or whatever the subject-matter may involve.

The impression received upon reading the original editorial raised the question: Should such views upon matters so serious be distributed broadcast among readers, seventy-five per cent of whom, *at least*, have never even investigated the principles of economics? Those

readers may qualify themselves and become entitled to form opinions; but the question is too important to be used simply as a means of arousing prejudice.

In this connection, these words of the late Charles Eliot Norton are a valuable support: —

> We are intrusting the fortunes of the community and of the nation to the common sense of the people of the nation, and that will not always save. The common sense of the man with only a common-school education will not always be a safe guide. We see that in the many discussions of the currency question, in the vast number of opinions on a question which can be wisely dealt with only by experts. We hear a self-conscious man say that his opinion is as good as that of any one. There is in this country a lack of respect for expert opinion which is likely to bring upon the country great disaster. This view may be pessimistic, but there is much in it to think seriously of, now that we hear the cry, "Let the people rule." The words of the old Greek philosopher, when no doubt the demagogue was working overtime, are worth listening to: "Mankind is a gaping monster, seeking to be deceived and seldom disappointed."

To disseminate ideas which are contrary to the beliefs and experiences of centuries, without a word of explanation, is apt to be a dangerous method of educating or influencing the

masses. Nothing is gained by opposing doctrines of economics reached after centuries of thought and study, after turmoil and bloodshed and reconstruction.

A series of speeches by President Butler of Columbia College, which have been recently published in book form, and of which the title essay is "Why Should We Change our Form of Government," elucidates some of the established principles referred to in this review, and comments upon some of the modern or progressive notions which, if followed, will, as anybody may see, bring us back to the original starting-point, with the work to be all done over again. As "The Sun" of New York expresses it, "to adopt a favorite figure of speech upon the lips of a recent convert to pure democracy, it is the sad truth that the initiative, referendum, and recall make the flint-lock look like a new and shining weapon."

The address of Miss Vida Scudder, at a meeting in Lawrence, probably not accurately reported, was in several places severely criticized. It has, however, been defended and explained in a very just letter to the "Boston Transcript" by John Graham Brooks. From

the criticisms, that speech might have been supposed to entertain just such sentiments as those to which attention is now being called. In justice to her, and because it throws some light upon the extent and character of the sympathy which we all feel for any people or class of people who are in the slightest danger of being unfairly treated or down-trodden, I venture to quote from the speech:—

> Only, my friends, let us see to it that all our suffering be indeed for justice, for righteousness' sake. Riot, even under severest provocation, does not make for justice. See to it, you citizens, that you keep an impartial mind, quick to compassion, free from prejudice, divorced from all apathy and irresponsibility, for a great trust is yours.
>
> And see to it, you strikers — you who struggle on with the thought of the vast army of all tongues and nations in whose name and for whose sake you are banded together — see to it that you hold your task too sacred to be defended by low, dishonorable, or violent means.

Mr. Brooks writes that, being present, he felt, upon leaving the meeting, that Miss Scudder's speech "from its first to final word was a kind of passionate beseeching to the audience for ethical self-restraint."

Mr. Dooley says: —

If the coort rules a law unconstitutional, Tiddy sez to the folks, "all ye ought to do is to vote the coort a liar." It 's the new way fur mindin' the Constitution.

Suppose the recall on decisions should be given to the bleachers whin the umpire rules against the home team ?

Hennessey, I 'm thinking of taken' me little savin's and movin' back to the ould land of piece and quiet, fer it 's my opinion the Irish nerves was nivir intinded fer anny sich rows as are brooin' over here.

A well-known Boston paper closes an editorial, entitled "Smashing Civilization," as follows: —

The travail of ages has gone to the substitution of peaceful for warlike methods of securing social progress, and unless human societies are to be totally disorganized they must continue to repress the mistaken zeal — call it "mental twist," hysteria, or what you will — which at this late day deliberately justifies a return to the methods of savagery. War is unfortunately still possible between the nations, but within them it has been effectually extinguished. The attempt to revive it as an agency of reform is an attack on the interests of the race. The attempt to promote the so-called welfare of a class or of a sex by breaking windows and damaging property is an attempt to smash civilization.

Another Boston publication, under the title "The Price of Ignorance," states, in part: —

Whether or not such deplorable incidents are the inevitable accompaniment or outgrowth of the rising tide of socialism, the lesson that is forced home is the need of grappling with a social problem, which, neglected, involves ultimate revolution.

Perhaps the mentality standard of our immigration laws, under which the vicious and ignorant may be allowed to spread the infection of their degeneracy upon our civilization, is too low. Perhaps there should be less indifference with respect to the principles of compulsory education. In any event, it will not be denied that many of our modern-day ills, more particularly those that pertain to the solution of our social and economic questions, have their beginnings in the distorted minds of the ignorant.

The rank and file of the strikers at Lawrence, for instance, have little or no conception of the great economic problems with which their employers are struggling earnestly and conscientiously. They are told in the inflammatory language of the agitator that the heels of the manufacturers are mercilessly grinding into their vitals, and in the twinkling of an eye a peaceful community is transformed into a howling, lawless mob.

The ignorance of the millhand is at the bottom of the trouble. He will not see the other side because in verity he cannot!

Such expressions of opinion (and many others could be furnished on the subject) indicate that not all writers of prominence agree with our radical New England editor and his followers. It would be interesting to know how *small* a minority of thinking men belong to that radical class. Some day we may have it put to test, — by the ballot, let us hope.

Here is an interesting retrospect by the descendant of a Lowell weaver: —

SOME OF THE THINGS THAT MAKE THE COST OF LIVING HIGH

To the Editor of The Herald: —

If you were to attend a socialist meeting, or a Ford Hall gathering, you would be told that the working-class of this country do not get enough to live and that times are growing worse all the time, and more especially since the textile strike in Lawrence, do you hear of these calamity speeches. Let's look at a few facts: It is recorded that 9000 operatives in Lowell received an average of $1.50 a week in 1843. In 1850 my mother was employed as a weaver in the Lowell mills, and she was a good weaver, too. She made an average of $2.50 a week and paid $1.25 a week for board and room in a corporation boarding-house. The hours were long, 11 to 12 a day. The average wage in Lowell and Lawrence to-day is at least four times as much as it was in 1850–55.

The average wage in the manufacturing industry in this country in 1850 was $247; in 1880, it was $348; in 1900, it was $437, and in 1910, it was $539, and the hours of labor have been reduced from 66 and 70 in 1850 to 54 and 60 in 1910. So much for that. Now let us look at the cost of living. In the city of Lawrence the workers of the so-called "foreign element" sent to Europe last year more than $700,000; they spent a million dollars in the 76 saloons, i.e., the working-class of that city spent a million for drink, and another $100,000 in the picture-show houses. For the nation these items of waste foot up: $1,700,000,000 spent in the saloons; $275,000,000 spent in the moving-picture shows; $135,000,000 for candy; $500,000,000 for tobacco; and the immigrants sent to Europe $300,000,000. Out of these sums the working-class spent at least $1,300,000,000, or 13 billions in 10 years, yet, we are told by sociologists that unless we have a radical change, the red flag revolution will engulf us.

The cost of living is high, but it is high mainly because we all want the things which the middle class enjoyed 30 years ago. The working-class live far better than the middle class lived 50 and 75 years ago. Everybody is glad that this is so, and notwithstanding this, we increased our savings bank deposits by $2,000,000,000 during the last 10 years and there have been 900,000 new homes acquired in this period. Men are rising from the working-class to the middle class and from the middle class to the so-called

wealthy class more rapidly to-day than ever before in the economic history of this nation, but we must have sensation and muckraking.

HAVERHILL, April 10

The question is not too large for a newspaper editor, or a lawyer, or any educated man. But the solution is too difficult for anybody, whether educated or not, unless he will take into consideration all of the factors in the problem and give due weight to the teachings of centuries and of pragmatic history. These burning questions should be analyzed and discussed economically — scientifically — and never by naked opinion.

Nobody in his right senses will claim that the extravagance of workers is the *sole* reason for the demand for wage increase. Extravagance has *very much to do* with the matter; because if wage-earners insist upon spending all they make, they will go on forever demanding more, whether the work is worth it or not. Of course there are cases of injustice, but where these are brought to light clearly, they are in almost every case alleviated.

We do not expect to pay skilled-labor wages to ignorant laborers. Abnormal and artificial

conditions seldom produce good results in anything. All things are relative and all things are graded, and it will be so no matter what form of government, no matter what system of employment. You cannot maintain everybody on the same level under all conditions, any more than you can make water run uphill.

The statement that all men are free and equal is true only so far as it applies to the *opportunities open to all*, and to their right to enjoy certain privileges guaranteed by the civic contract. In all or nearly all other respects all men are *not* free and equal. This is demonstrated in every country and under every form of government, from the savage to the highest type. Some men are inferior to others, and until they have made themselves equal they must grade their value as citizens in accordance with their abilities. Nowhere is this difference so clearly shown as in India, where the principle of caste is indigenous. And it is in India that British rule is so strenuously attacked; —not so much, indeed, by the natives of that country as by outside agitators.

We in the North make a great deal of clamor about the treatment of the negro. A Southerner recently resigned from a certain club in the North

because he found members of the colored race seated in the same dining-room with him. When a Northern friend was rather inclined to remonstrate with him, the Southerner said, "You, in the North, are hypocrites; you don't invite negroes to your houses and to your tables, nor do you want them there."

Nothing in these two paragraphs is intended to decry or underestimate the value and usefulness and respectability of any man, in any class, in his place. But all men are not free and equal for all purposes, and many men are not entitled to the same recompense, consideration, or latitude of action that others receive and enjoy. They would not know how to adapt themselves to conditions which are the natural state of other men. All men are entitled to equal opportunities, so far as they are able to grasp them. It may be true that all men are *born* free and equal, though I cannot concede the proposition in its entirety. But beyond that, certainly the saying is absolutely without merit. If they are born free and equal, it is because equal rights and privileges and protection are open to all; and not because all are or ever will be qualified to grasp the same opportunities.

We cannot hope to continue business so as to benefit all people if we place on the very same basis brains, enterprise, thrift, and industry, on the one side, and pure manual labor without training and skill and influence, on the other. And the laborer would suffer most of all from such an attempt.

Could any one claim that any business enterprise would succeed as well without brains and energy to direct it? The demand of the reformer to-day seems to be that the brains now guiding such enterprises must relinquish all rights in order that certain disgruntled members of the laboring-class, so-called, may select other brains. Not only that, but the guidance and control must be relinquished without recompense for former service as founders and guides. Labor wants a change of navigators regardless of what the consequence will be. It must be clear to them that they cannot direct the affairs of enterprise. Therefore, under any new régime they must still be subject to somebody's guidance. Somebody must formulate and execute the policies of business. The ignorant man, he who performs and can perform manual labor only, could never satisfactorily control and carry to success

such policies. Does such a man suppose that the new navigator will produce results which will give such control?

Industries are run by brains and to brains is due in a large measure the success of those industries. When retained in tangible form that success is wealth. Labor assists in the accumulation of that wealth, but labor is not entitled to all of it. To what extent it should share is not ascertainable by arbitrary rule; certainly not by the ukase of a socialistic reformer.

In the first century of the Christian era, I think, the share deemed reasonable by economists, and that which existed, was about twenty-two to twenty-five cents out of every dollar of gross earnings. Without claiming that the following is the percentage in all other lines of manufacturing and industry, in a large New England railroad every dollar of gross income from all sources during the year 1911 was distributed as follows:—

For Material and Supplies

$ .10½ fuel for locomotives;
.02¾ rails and ties;
.18¼ other material, supplies and expense;
.04½ taxes;

.04 interest on debt and sinking-fund;
.11¾ leases and rentals;
.02 car expense per diem;
.01 office salaries;
.00¾ available for dividends;

.44½ FOR WAGES.

It would probably not occur to the editors of radical and agitating newspapers that they are robbing their employees; that, as labor is entitled to all it produces, the reporters and the typesetters and the printer's devil should get all the revenue received by the paper. That is the principle which those papers are advocating —applied to other industries, of course.

Thomas Edison works, it is reported, from about six in the morning until midnight, with two or three hours out for necessary recuperation, and he is reported as saying, "I never had an idea in my life; I have no imagination. My so-called inventions already existed in the environment—I took them out. The drone lets them lie there while he goes off to a baseball game."

In the February, 1911, number of the "Atlantic Monthly" appeared a noteworthy essay by Cornelia A. P. Comer, which is addressed to

all youth of the present day regardless of rank or station. While it should be read in its entirety, I have selected a few excerpts as applicable to the questions we are considering. She asks: —

Is the quality of the human product really falling off? If the suspicion which runs about the world is true, then youngsters, as you would elegantly phrase it, "It is up to you." . . .

When the rising generation goes into the militia, it is — old officers tell us — "soft" and incompetent. Advocates of athletics and manual training are doing their utmost to counteract the tendency to make flabby fastidious bodies which comes from too comfortable living; but the task is huge. . . .

Before it occurred to me to analyze your deficiencies, I used to look at a good many members of the rising generation and wonder helplessly what ailed them. . . . They talked of themselves as socialists; but their ideas of socialism were vague. To them, it was just an "ism" that was going to put the world to rights without bothering them very much to help it along. They seemed to feel that salvation would come to them by reading Whitman and G. B. S., or even the mild and uncertain Mr. H. G. Wells. . . . Somebody some day was going to push a button, and, Presto! life would be soft and comfortable for everybody.

Of socialism in general, I confess myself incompe-

tent to speak. It may, or it may not, be the solution of our acutely pressing social problems. But, if men are too cheap, greedy, and sordid to carry on a Republic honestly, preserving that equality of opportunity which this country was founded to secure, it must be *men* who need reforming! The more ideal the scheme of government, the less chance it has against the inherent crookedness of human nature. In the last analysis, we are not ruled by a "government," but by our own natures objectified, moulded into institutions. . . .

Life is not, and is not meant to be, a cheap, easy matter. . . . It is a grim, hard, desolate piece of work, shot through with all sorts of exquisite, wonderful compensating experiences. . . .

The unshapen lump of raw human material that we are cannot take on lines of identity without the hammer, the chisel, the drill. . . .

We are obviously here to be made into something by life. It seizes and shapes us. The process is sometimes very pleasant, sometimes very painful. So be it. It is all in the day's work, and only the worthless will try to evade their proper share of either pain or pleasure.

Everybody in this world is, of course, entitled to some recreation and luxury, but it must be recreation in proportion to his or her means, having in mind a proper provision for the "rainy day," which is another name for old age and illness. Some people can provide very little

in this way, and, until succeeding generations have developed to a point where they are of more value to the world, that inability to materially increase their earning power must continue.

The young man who, on the threshold of life, earning ten or twelve dollars a week, insists upon buying ten-cent cigars and paying an Italian boot-black to have his boots polished, and who feels it incumbent upon him to hire a "livery rig" once a week, is not a desirable kind of development. "The times are not hard, they are fast," is a common saying.

In a recent message to the employees of the Rock Island Railroad, President Mudge said that a man who earns $1000 a year represents a capital of $25,000. He compared those employees with a locomotive : —

> You may not have as much pull as a locomotive, but you ought to have as much push ; and you can last a lot longer and run a great deal further than the best engine ever built. Most of all, you can make yourself constantly worth more, while the locomotive is never worth a cent more than it was the day it was built. It rests with you to make your $25,000 valuation climb to $50,000, to $100,000, to $500,000. Select your food with care. Treat decently the body on which your mind depends for its strength and san-

ity. Above all, feed your mind. Like the engine, you can't work unless you stay on the rails and keep where the boss can find you. And remember that no call-boy ever found an engine in a saloon, dive, or other place of that sort.

There is one important need of the times, and we have been neglecting it, to some extent, on all sides. I refer to Discipline.

The tendency to iconoclasm, fostered by agitators and people who believe they could rule the world better than it is governed by Divine Providence, has put a false and a lower value upon thrift and energy, enterprise and brains. Relations of employment or contract, which of necessity call for guidance by one man or party and obedience by another, are seriously interfered with by a growing unwillingness to abide by the true and natural requirements of such conditions. This generally results in a failure to deliver that which should reasonably be expected in the way of service or goods. A domestic servant is frequently found to be wasting good material. Well-known writers on economics have stated that the amount of waste in New York City, mostly through this source, would feed the whole of Paris. A skilled laborer is not in-

frequently found who, while agreeing to perform a certain piece of work, deliberately, or through lack of training, leaves it partially undone or done in a shiftless manner. Articles sold by retail concerns are not always what they are represented to be. The quality of goods produced by factories is often not up to the standard. A similar criticism may be made of the professions.

Self-restraint, which is simply discipline applied to self, must be cultivated. And this suggestion is not intended for any one class. I have always believed and frequently stated that if one cannot rely for the improvement of our conditions upon those who, by virtue of their education, prosperity, and standing, are qualified to set the proper example, we cannot expect very much from *hoi polloi*. There must be training. Training is discipline. It is applicable as well to self as to others and should apply to all classes alike.

The universe itself is based upon a system established by the Creator. We are all subject to that system, and we cannot escape it. We can facilitate and assist, but the moment we oppose its operation, we succumb. The seasons, the days and nights, the laws governing the re-

currence and alternation of crops, those governing animal life — all are fixed, immutable.

Discipline is natural, not arbitrary, as many seem to suppose. The highest type of ruler in this world, she who represents motherhood, commences almost the moment her offspring is born to exercise discipline. Because, first, it is natural; second, it develops character; third, some day that offspring will need to understand how to transmit that training to the succeeding generation.

If each succeeding generation can be improved, even though slightly, over the preceding, we have, to say the least, gone a long way toward fulfilling man's destiny here below. If anybody believes that the world is misgoverned, let him take but a square mile and attempt to rule all the people and all the things in that small tract, with their conflicting interests and their constant needs.

Nobody should fail to respect institutions which have stood the test of time. After years of turmoil, the Anglo-Saxon people, desiring to be freed from the necessity of individually bothering with affairs of state, selected from each of their districts a man who was better

fitted than the majority to decide such questions, and sent those representatives together to form the *Witena gemot*, or council of wise men.

That institution stands in England to-day. There is no known trade or profession, from the clergy to the brewery, that is not there represented. The interests of the country have grown to vast proportions and cumbersome, but the institution still stands. England does not need a change in her form of government. No more does America. We want the best men, and we want honest men, in office and in power: a proper selection.

The fact that there are some in power to-day who are unprincipled (which unfortunately is undeniable) is not due to the system of government; it is due to the unwise choice of representatives. This would be true under any other form of government, whether it be monarchic, oligarchic, socialistic, or anarchistic.

That which is at fault to-day is not fundamental law; it is not the institutions reared thereon; it is not representative government; no one of these need be overthrown to bring about certain needed reforms.

"The people are not the law and the law is not the people." There never was a truer statement. "The law is the principle of justice governing the people." Law rests far down below all mundane institutions. The principles of law exist regardless of those institutions. They are as inherent and as fixed as the principles of the physical world, and in every case where an attempt has been made to upset them the result has been turmoil and wreck.

A method which is applicable for one purpose is not always to be applied for another. As President Butler has pointed out, imagine all the people in Chicago convened to determine a detail of legislation or for the election of officers, and the picture is simply ridiculous. The old form of town meeting still exists in many places, but as soon as a town has grown into a commercial centre the exigencies demand a different form of government, namely, a representative form.

We have made long strides in this country toward the amelioration of certain conditions which sprang up like weeds and grew in spite of us. The best authorities believe that the world is improving, and that with the exercise

of a little self-restraint we shall work the matter out satisfactorily to all. But can anybody believe that the constant and inflammatory utterance of doctrines, held by the great majority of students of history and economics to be untenable, will bring this about?

A work on sociology published in 1892, and entitled "Coming Horrors in America," declared: "There is war in America to-day." Its vituperative attack on the increase of wealth was and is insupportable. Nor are all enterprises to be placed on one level. Agitators are wont to cry out about the "wrongs done by octopus formations," and then single out some one example as applying to all. Many of the trusts or combinations, and I dare say a great majority, do *not* come within the class which has wrought injury by unsound, unjust, and unlawful methods.

Talcott Williams, formerly of the Philadelphia "Press," remarked in 1887, "One third of the labor to-day is the creation of a century of American invention and enterprise under constitutional freedom."

Injustice is not alone to be found on the capitalist side. William Rathbone Greg refers,

for instance, to an early movement on the part of labor, having for its object to prevent bricks being used, excepting those made within certain limits. How would this have affected people who made bricks in other localities?

Anybody who will take the trouble to read Charles Beard's description of labor conditions in England in 1760, and will then note the changes which have since taken place, — there and in America, — and who will trace down the genealogies of the farmer and the laborer of those days to and through the numerous branches of their descendants, will see what is going on in the world more clearly than by fixing his attention in hypnotic fashion solely upon the toilers of any particular period or locality. Every laborer may, by good work, by carefully husbanding his resources, and by opening to the succeeding generations the door of opportunity, bring posterity up to a higher level. But there is only one way to do it; and that way involves the three elements enumerated: Diligent effort, thrift, and the development of the mental and moral faculties. They won't all give good work. Hence their usefulness is cut down, and their earnings correspondingly. They won't

all save; therefore it cannot be avoided that some will remain dependents.

It is encouraging, however, to note from the reports of savings banks — particularly since the establishment of the postal banks — that more money is saved to-day in a large or small way than ever before; and less sent to foreign countries.

Another common failing is the tendency to believe in luck as a means to success. Ninety-nine out of every hundred of the unfortunates who ignore our universal rules of discipline attribute their failure to bad luck.

Luck is a result, not a chance or a means. In greater or lesser degree good luck, which is success, is sure to follow proper preparation and execution.

Chance exists in matters not governed by human agencies; but even that may be prepared for. An earthquake is some part of the plan of the universe. We know not what part. We may perhaps in time foretell its coming, and prevent injurious consequences therefrom. A rock falls from an embankment and overturns a train. Human agency should have prevented. Surgery will in time prevent many deaths and

lengthen many lives, now utterly beyond its control.

A throw of dice may favor one or another—but given a perfect set of dice (which may be effected by human agency) and constant play, and the doctrine of chances will in time equalize the losses and gains.

Success in this world is not to be acquired through the medium of luck, as the word is commonly used. Some barely succeed after hard study in a particular line. Others succeed in their line with less toil. But it is not due to luck, any more than it was luck which brought a part of the world's population to the pulpit and the forum and the laboratory, and left others in the fields or at the forge.

Somewhere in the line of our Miltons and our Shakespeares and our Lincolns and our Websters and our Emersons and our Lowells, there was preparation for a successful life. And not in every case was it such a preparation or series of preparations as we are wont to deem necessary for success.

A training properly assimilated, a wholesome life, with industry and thrift, will at least establish a foundation for posterity. If that de-

velopment be continued long enough, we shall one day see a man or woman who rises to the top with no more effort than is employed by a companion who never gets beyond the stage of "also ran."

The same opportunity is open to all men to lay the cornerstone on which will sometime be reared that structure known as the successful man. Preparation, consistently followed through generation after generation, will at some time and in some form tell its tale.

To reach success we must all be amenable to the rule of Discipline. How many men who follow a laborer's life have seen companions strike out into new countries and take up new pursuits! Some stick and succeed. Others fail. Many return. Why? Because they were either totally unprepared and would not or could not remain long enough to learn; or, as is so frequently the case, would not listen to the demands of discipline and work themselves into better conditions.

Those who succeed do not reach their aim through luck — it is through discipline, and sometimes years of work and repression. But followed by success — in greater or lesser measure.

Does anybody doubt that hard work *properly applied* will result in success?

If one does not know how to apply his work, there are always guides, mental and moral, who can assist; and who will, if the inquiry be made in earnest. There are many, unfortunately, who still believe that they can succeed by and through the medium of luck.

It is the time for self-restraint. The country has had a long period of depression. We cannot cure unsatisfactory conditions or social maladies by nostrums. We need real and genuine doctors — not quacks. We need honest men in office; men who, having served and conserved, are qualified to lead. Doubtless, too, we need some supervision of vast interests which affect rich and poor alike.

It is a time for calm, quiet consideration of fundamental principles. The arguments of would-be reformers in favor of a certain part of socialism, and as to the rights of labor, and for laws to fix a reasonable limit on aggregations of capital, may be *to a great extent* concurred in by all. We have already many of the best of those principles established and recognized. Our almshouses, our wards' courts, our proba-

tion officers, our district nursing and settlement work, are all socialistic in their very essence.

A pure democracy, however, would never succeed. It has been attempted in a small way by men of intellect, with sincerity of purpose; and abandoned by them.

The New York "Commercial" comments on socialistic experiment: —

A LITTLE JOURNEY IN SOCIALISM

This Milwaukee experiment in socialistic rule was tried under conditions as favorable for the test as could possibly be asked. Mayor Seidel was a man of the highest reputation in private life, and he took office filled with determination to purify the city administration and deal honestly by all men. But conditions were too much for him. He found, to his disgust, that his socialist fellow office-holders and his supporters were as greedy for the spoils of office as the worst machine politicians and ward-heelers of the old parties had ever been. He could not keep down expenses and his special board of civic economy was the most costly and useless that Milwaukee ever saw or paid. He could get no support from those who had put him in the mayor's chair unless he paid them with offices or jobs at the city's expense. Socialistic ideas did not work out in practice.

If accumulation of capital is objected to, it is only fair to give others a right to believe as they

prefer — and let those who will work, save and invest, and protect themselves and their families. Indeed, protect every person who will not exercise thrift.

If reasonable accumulations of capital are justifiable, let the reformer urge the followers of socialism to save some of the millions wasted in strikes and put them into enterprises which can be managed after their own methods. This will free the socialistic adherents from the trammels of employment, as nearly as they can be freed.

I quote again from the New York "Commercial": —

If the Industrial Workers of the World wish to acquire the tools of manufacture and wholly eliminate capital, they can try the experiment at once without going through all the agony of strikes and semi-starvation. The Lawrence strike cost the employees or their trade organization a very large sum, certainly not less than half a million dollars. That sum would buy or build complete a fairly large mill in which the socialists could test the possibilities of their plan. Their plan of campaign is to keep on striking until capital quits, but they need not waste time over that sort of a fight.

Some important trades require comparatively little capital for mechanical equipment. The clothing trade is one of these. Let these socialists save up a little

money to start a business instead of a strike. They can buy all the sewing-machines and other equipment needed for less than what a month of idleness in a strike will cost. They can buy goods almost from hand to mouth, and, when they have finished the clothing, they will know just how much of the selling price belongs to labor and capital combined, for it will all be theirs.

If some genius in the band of workers keeps abreast of the fashions and designs patterns that sell well they may be successful. But at this point human nature is almost sure to step in. That gifted designer will realize that a large measure of the success of the enterprise is due to the exercise of his talents. Then, if he is not a superman, he will demand a larger share of the profits than each of the other workers in common gets. He will demand the market price of his work and will go elsewhere if his demands are refused. That is something with which these dreamers do not reckon now, but they will find out that all men are not equal, and that some are worth more than others, just as capital has done, before they have been in the business very long.

A band of socialists might easily start a silk mill on this plan. One or two good dress patterns that caught the fancy of the women would make them prosperous for the time being. These successful patterns would be the survival of the fittest of a large number. But in the next season if the best selling patterns were again designed by the man whose work had scored a hit be-

fore, his opinion of his value would rise and he would cease to be a socialist, so far as consenting to an equal distribution of profits is concerned.

There are many trades in which the experiment can be tried. Success would be welcome, for the ideal state of society is one in which all work and receive the full fruits of their labor. But the world has never yet got along without the directing mind, and the world has seen few leaders who were content with private's pay for very long. Clarence Darrow, the favored counsel of the Industrial Workers of the World for years, was careful to get his hands on the fifty thousand dollar retainer fee before the McNamara trial began. That is why applied socialism is an impossibility. It conflicts with human nature.

A prominent Boston paper suggests an

I. W. W. COLONY

There should not be objection if, as reported, the I. W. W. propose to cross the Mexican line and settle in Lower California for the purpose of trying to put in operation their special plans as to industry and government. Let them form their own community and achieve, if they can, "an equal division of toil and profits" in accordance with their ideals.

The community would be a social experiment interesting for the instruction of the world. Its operation along social and industrial lines would be given due publicity and an accurate idea could be formed by the public as to the practical value of the plan.

We might endeavor to convince some wealthy philanthropist that such an experiment would be worth while; prevailing upon him to provide the funds necessary to establish such a colony.

Every fair-minded person recognizes a labor union as an institution entirely as justifiable as a partnership or a corporation or an insurance company. A socialistic colony would be granted full consideration by the world. We have rather drastic laws concerning aggregations of capital —perhaps not yet applied at just the right turn of the wheel or perhaps not yet applied rigidly enough. We can better the laws and they will be bettered; but in the evolution thereof is it not wiser to leave out irritating remedies and inflammatory utterances? See how this uprising against discipline is affecting not only the working-man but the growing generations. Here are two boys in California, aged fifteen and thirteen, who murdered their father, took all the money from his pockets, loaded the body on a mud-sled, and hauled it home. Both admitted that their father had been kind to them and that they had no reason to kill him except that he had compelled them to go to school, and "*they were tired of being bossed!*"

What would happen if in any large city the crowds at the street crossings were at the mercy of teamsters and drivers, instead of being protected by the system of discipline, now common enough, which places traffic subject to instant check simply by the raising of a policeman's hand?

Where everybody is attempting to govern, there is no discipline and no self-restraint, and, naturally, no progress.

As Mr. Price Collier says, in his admirable book, "The West in the East," at page 395, chapter on China: —

> One has only to see something of these vast stretches of territory without railroads, without telegraph offices, and with few post-offices, to learn how much we owe to our own railroads for their efficiency as moral agents. Leaving out of the count any question of commerce, the United States to-day would be a great federal political and moral chaos without its railroads; and yet I have never heard them alluded to even as having any ethical value. It is right to debate these questions whether in a republic or in China. The value of the debate, however, depends altogether upon the tone and temper of the discussion. I believe in insurgency. Insurgency is the only political or social purgative of any value in a democracy; but the insurgent must be neither a fanatic nor a fakir; he is, alas,

all too often one or the other; and America has suffered of late from a veritable plague of left-handed Catos. Therefore, I counsel my readers to adopt my method. As an observer, as a traveller, as a student, I know of no instrument of criticism so helpful as sympathy. You must like a man to get out of him the best he has to give. Mere denunciation is a weapon of the ethical age, of the Eocene lemur, and the calcareous sponge.

The insurgent must be neither a fanatic nor a fakir!

The present turmoil in political, sociological and commercial fields is at least partly due to the fanatical reformer. Killing the goose that lays the golden eggs is not the only way to demonstrate short-sightedness; — it is enough if she is chased so hard she will not lay. What should we get if these agitators had full sway?

What, for example, of the dogma so often used by them: that human rights must be put above property rights. This means, I presume, that the rights of the men who work by hand are paramount at all times, in all ways, and for all purposes, to the rights of the men who earn their living by their brains. Is this distinction sound? Are the rights of the laborer paramount to all others? Are not property rights human rights?

Suppose a carpenter, for example, has been energetic and thrifty, and has laid aside enough money to build and provide his family with a home. Now suppose a recent arrival from a foreign shore who has done the manual work for this householder demands as of right to share his house with him. Would the principle hold true that, inasmuch as the recent arrival has done all the work, he is entitled as of right to be taken in and indefinitely housed? This conclusion would seem to arise from the contention that the product of the laborer belongs, all of it, to him. The householder, I dare say, would contend that the product of his former labor, that which he has saved and invested in a home, still belonged to himself.

If an appeal to charity were at the basis of the demands of these agitators, we should have a slightly different problem, but their demands are based upon presupposed inherent right. Perhaps some one of them will show what the rights and duties are in the case just cited. Should the carpenter share his new house with the laborer or should he give it up to him entirely?

Put a wise and thrifty man without capital on virgin soil and he will find the tools to develop

it. What does he do with his first crop? Following true business instinct, after satisfying the temporary needs of himself and his family, he lays aside the surplus, and founds his capital. The next year he perhaps hires some labor and increases the production, and increases his capital. In time he has enough laid by to last him through life. Does that capital belong to those who may have assisted him for hire?

Suppose with those savings the farmer builds a railroad through his farm and to the market town. Leaving out all question of dishonesty and graft, and assuming simply a road a few miles long, enough to enable the people along its line to market their produce, and assuming no municipal aid and no bonds or stocks issued; does that railroad belong to the men who actually did the laying of the rails, and who took wages therefor because they had not the brains, ability, and perseverance to do as did the pioneer of the country, the founder of the railroad? If to the laborers, do you expect to have many railroads built? If to the investor, then what about the principle of all wealth belonging to the laborer?

We are told by certain theorists that wealth,

the product of certain elements, belongs all of it to labor. These theorists overlook the fact that the factors of production of to-day's wealth may have existed in one person. Take the case of the individual who starts his own factory and by himself builds up a business which results in the employment of thousands of others. Take Edison, who, by means of brains and hard work, has created devices which will benefit the world as long as it lasts. Does the property which represents the investment of the earnings of those two men belong all of it to labor? It was created by brains and energy combined with hard work, but it was not and never could have been created by labor alone.

Labor does not create all wealth. It is due to brains and labor; generally assisted by capital, which is the accumulation of brains and labor previously applied. So the proposition resolves itself into this: brains and labor create wealth; brains, labor, and wealth combined create more wealth; and so on *ad infinitum*.

If, when enterprises are commenced, labor should state: "We shall claim the entire result of this combination of brains and labor and capital," does the social reformer or anybody

else believe that capital and brains would continue hand in hand with labor? The country would go on without those investments; would be just that much less wealthy; or at least capital and brains would furnish their own labor.

Agitators are demanding that labor shall be the sole judge of who shall work and how much they shall work, and how much they shall receive as their share of the product. In other words, they say, "Mr. Brains, you continue to conduct this business and we will say how much we will give you as your share."

As a matter of fact, the link connecting capital and labor is in every way a contractual one. And that means a mutual relation; an agreement between two or more parties.

Let us have something definite, then, in the way of a plan to reconcile the differences existing between these two parties. Let us be told what are the demands; what are the limits; what is a fair division; what is an unfair accumulation. Let us be shown how we can adopt any new system with justice to all. Then, and only then, can anybody determine whether it is desirable to combine his brains with the labor

of others, or preferably to combine them with his own labor as was done in old colony times.

And right here, as has before been observed, arises much of the trouble of the present time. The author has heard of but one man who expressed himself definitely on the point of what would be a reasonable demand by laboring-men. One case came to his attention, quite recently, where a laborer stated that when he should be able to work "five hours a day for five dollars a day, five days in the week," he thought he might be satisfied. And this estimate was made without reference to the age, size, and precariousness of the business; or its gross earnings; or the number of employees; or the fact that the work performed by this particular man was purely manual.

Mr. John Beattie Crozier, in his Reconstruction of Political Economy, entitled "The Wheel of Wealth," at page 491, says:—

> The question of Value, even on its purely productive side, is not one of how many units of *time* you are at work, but of how many units of *product* you can turn out in a given time — quite a different matter. For it is the units of product in a given time which alone the capitalist who is entering on any industrial enterprise has to consider in framing his estimates; and

it is precisely what the labourers would themselves have to consider if they abolished the capitalists to-morrow, and owned and worked the land, machinery, railways, and other instruments of production themselves; — as they would soon discover when they entered into competition with other nations for the world's trade, however much they might be content at home to share the product between themselves according to the mere time of labour spent on it. For observe, if the same product could be turned out by a newly invented machine in half the time that they would take to make it, by what human device could they sell their product in the open market unless they consented to sell it at half its former price? And what would this mean but that they would have now to accept half the wages for their labour-time that they were getting before? They would have been "exploited," in a word, by the new machine which the inventor had sold to a rival nation, as neatly and effectually as if it had been the hated capitalists themselves who had done it. And if they still insisted on having their pound of flesh whatever should befall, and proceeded next to put the thumb-screw on the inventor of the machine to force him to give it over to them instead of to their rivals, on the usual terms of the "labour-time" he had spent on it, and no more, they would now be exploiting the inventor in turn as much as ever the capitalists had exploited them. But if the inventor, defrauded of his due, should strike work and refuse to invent, and they should then proceed, like King John,

to metaphorically "draw his teeth" for him one by one until he consented to present them with the contents of his brain, how would their tyranny differ from that of the capitalist-masters under whom they now groan and against whom they cry to Heaven for justice? But let me not be misunderstood. For did they now turn round and give back to the inventors and brain-workers, in honour, authority, prestige, and esteem, what they had expropriated from them in wealth, they would, in my judgment, have struck on a constitution of economic society as nearly perfect as on this side of the millenium we are ever likely to see. They would then have given their really "great men," in Carlyle's sense of the term, the place of honour and initiative. But would they do this? Not they: on the contrary, they would give the chief seats at their feasts to the "wind-bags" and coiners of phrases, the platitudinarians, and be-puffed mediocrities, — especially if they were good "sportsmen," footballers, cricketers, or what-not, as well, — and that, too, in the really sincere belief that these were their "great men." For in themselves the miscellaneous masses of men in any nation are nothing, a tail of ciphers merely; they can imagine nothing, invent nothing, do nothing great, however much they may beat their brains for it; — this is the prerogative of individuals alone, who are born in every rank, and can come only by what the theologians call "the Grace of God." Were you to pack all the ordinary chess-players of the world into the Albert Hall, not all their combined

heads put together, with their vote taken on each move before it was made, could get even within sight of a "draw" from one of the great masters of the game. And it is the same with the game of War, of Poetry, of Music, of Art, of Mathematics, of Philosophy, of Religion, or of intellectual penetration generally in any department of thought or life; or even, if you will, down to billiard-players, cricketers, and the really great "sportsmen" in every line. The great players are always *individuals*, always uniques, with unbridgeable gulfs between them and the rest of the world; they are the only dynamical forces of the world; the rest are but mere statical accompaniments and chorus, mere ballast to keep the ship steady, mere critics, like those who surround a cricket or football field, with just ability enough to decide on the merits of the great players, but not able to play themselves, and whose function it is either to hiss or applaud. So that if in this game of Industry any nation were so rash as to turn out the men who discover, invent, organize, and legislate for its future, or to rob them of their just rewards, and to put a miscellaneous herd of navvies, coal-heavers, and ordinary workmen in their place, it would speedily find itself overrun, routed, and reduced to a tributary and dependent position by the first great nation that came along, which, like Japan, gave to its great men a free hand. And this brings us at once to the crux of the Marxian Socialism, both as to its truth and its falsity. Its falsity consists in its not seeing that while the workmen are

exploited directly by the capitalists who own the pistols and pull the triggers, they are really made to stand and deliver by the pistols, — that is to say, by the machinery, — which can do the work of thousands of men in a given unit of time; and that this is the work of the great scientists, inventors, and organizers, and not of the capitalists or of the workmen themselves; and that if you are going to raise the question of justice, according to the ordinarily accepted standards, it is to these that the "surplus product" belongs.

It has been suggested many times that business and politics should be divorced. The same remedy would facilitate the solution of the question we are now considering. And we might go further and remove it from the field occupied by that extraordinary class of deep thinkers, the fanatical agitators.

No one of these critics of the times seems to have provided a practical remedy for that of which they complain, viz., the increasing disparity between capital and labor.

Assuming that their complaint is well founded, and that natural developments and the influence of trade unions are not sufficiently effective, it remains to seek some new method for lessening this breach.

Human nature cannot be changed greatly,

except as it is improved. Labor will always exist in some form and to some extent. It seems almost useless to attempt to bring about the desideratum by regulations aimed at the producing end. The only way in which wages can be much further increased, in *nearly* all cases to-day, is by a higher scale of prices for the production. And that scale will depend upon the demand for that production. When prices soar to a point where demand ceases, the point of absorption is reached.

Goldwin Smith, in his little treatise on "Labour and Capital," published in 1907, very aptly remarks :—

> The capitalist, it is important to observe, though the organizer, director, and paymaster, is not the real employer. The real employer is the purchaser of the goods, who cannot be forced by any strike or pressure to give more for the goods than he chooses and can afford. Carried beyond a certain point, therefore, pressure for an increased wage must either fail or break the trade.

And he further reminds us, that labor by its constant demands is increasing the cost of living to itself as well as to the rest of the public.

You will never succeed in an arbitrary demand for higher wages after you reach the natural point of absorption. You can form your own colonies and found your own industries; and, if you have the good faith and charity which you demand in others, you may succeed. The history of coöperative effort does not show invariable success. And you must not overlook the stern fact that there are three elements necessary to the creation of wealth: production; surplus commodities; *and a purchaser for the surplus.* You are going too far when you demand that industries already established shall be set back some centuries; and that the earnings of others who have preceded you shall be applied to the founding of your colonies. In all fairness, you cannot walk in and, without due process of law, arbitrarily take possession of property which other citizens have acquired.

You can, however, tax wealth. You must free wealth-producing property from heavy burdens of taxation and let the weight fall elsewhere. Otherwise, you are stifling enterprise and thrift, just as when you over-regulate the actual elements of production. And it is not enough, in any form of taxation, merely to provide funds

for government uses. Those funds must be intelligently devoted to the greatest needs of the people.

In various parts of the world, provisions such as succession taxes and the meretricious income tax, have provided a means for partially preventing great accumulations of wealth. But that alone does not seem fully to answer the demands of the reformer. Because of the fact, probably, that, while one extreme is cut down, the other is not correspondingly or sufficiently uplifted.

There is no panacea, doubtless, for all of the troubles of the civic body. No one remedy will suffice. Gradually to allay irritation, by methods carefully considered in the full light of reason, is the most we can hope to do in the line of social therapeutics.

But I venture to ask the Reform-Agitator if there might not be some advantage gained for the cause by changing the point of attack. By partially abandoning the onslaught upon the agents of production, and upon the existing method of distribution of profits, and by taking up the question of the *uses* of those profits.

Both capital and labor to-day contend that they respectively do not receive the share to which they are entitled out of joint earnings. Suppose the question of division of earnings be left to agreement of the parties. Capital freed from unnecessary stigma. Labor represented by the Unions. Both influenced by the natural law of supply and demand; and both protected at all times by State and Federal Commissions. And suppose we consider the effect of legislation tending to regulate unwarranted and unwise use of the shares received by each. Indeed, the use of wealth in general.

It can be assumed that no one will disagree as to the disadvantage of property and pecuniary waste, either by government or individual. The elimination, by rational legislative methods, of unnecessary waste, *might* be made a very strong factor in the improvement and uplifting of labor conditions. I do not for one moment mean to advocate the establishment of sumptuary laws, strictly speaking; i.e., laws covering *all* articles of consumption, or all expenses of living.

For present purposes it may be left to the agitator himself, relying on his clear understanding and good faith in the premises, to say to

what extent labor ought to protect itself and be protected in the line of economy of living. As to capital, while I believe that it does not in all cases receive too great a share of the profits of production, I do not hesitate to claim that it wastes altogether too much of that share. To the maxim, "It is just to tax the wealthy in proportion to their wealth," I would add, "And it is just to tax them in accordance with the way in which they *use* that wealth."

Can we save a part of the wealth now wasted and utilize it for the benefit of the people as a whole, and particularly the laboring-class? We can do it, certainly. A higher rate of taxation on luxuries would diminish the use of that kind of property; which use destroys just so much of the product of labor and capital—just so much wealth. And, at the same time, the income received from the tax levied on such luxuries as might still be used could form a very useful fund.

Money not spent in that way would naturally drift into investment channels. Many people would be deterred, to some extent, from falling into extravagant ways of living.

Of course, the taxation of luxuries falls within

that class of legislation known as "sumptuary laws." Yet, if restricted to *pure luxuries*, no real injury perhaps would come to any person by such a measure. Luxury was styled by one of the great English essayists as "artificial poverty."

There seems to be no valid reason why laws concerning the wasting of property should not be applicable generally as well as specially. We have always had provisions whereby an individual can be restrained and placed under guardianship by a chancery court, upon its being evident that he is squandering his money and is likely to become a charge upon the community.

Not for precisely the same reason, but for the purpose of preventing waste to the community and preserving the common wealth, pure luxuries might very legitimately be the object of a carefully considered system of taxation.

The result of increased taxation on articles which have no particular usefulness — such as wines and liquors and pleasure vehicles, or any other commodity which disappears with the use thereof, leaving nothing but the satisfaction of having had it — might show an advantage to

all classes, even to the capitalist; certainly to the State and the people as a whole; and to the laboring-classes, beyond question, if the funds raised by taxation were properly used after being collected.

There would be no material, permanent benefit to labor from the mere increase in taxes collected. It would be of no lasting benefit to pay it out in wages. It might answer the demands of the reformer if the funds could be invested in profitable industries with State and Labor as employer and employee, respectively. And there would be an increase in the general wealth. Those industries might be confined at first to the production of certain actual necessities of life.

Such an arrangement would create a competition between individual and state enterprises, which might work to the advantage of both, and doubtless to the benefit of the consumer.

It is well known that state ownership, wherever it constitutes a monopoly, is thoroughly unsatisfactory. Complaints are frequent enough, nowadays, regarding the quality of commodities and services, made and rendered by individuals.

By a system which would put both state and individual producers on their merits, we might eliminate some of the defects of state ownership, make costs of production and prices of commodities more stable, and, at the same time, obtain better values.

It remains to be seen, of course, what the attitude would be of the numerous people affected by such an arrangement. Production and consumption would be decreased in the case of wines and liquors and cigars; automobiles and carriages; silks and gems. The breeding and sale of horses and dogs and fine grades of cattle would fall off. And preserves for game and birds and fish would be neglected. And all the pursuits that appertain to the few illustrations given above would be materially affected. The thousands and thousands of people who derive their living from those various industries; the grape and tobacco growers and their assistants; workmen in automobile and carriage factories; miners of precious stones; lapidaries; hunters and taxidermists; and retail dealers in all these lines; as well as transportation companies, which are fed upon those commodities — all would be affected.

Can they be reconciled?

You must not forget the interests of those people who use, and those who produce, the articles aimed at in the plan outlined. If a person knows that he is not to be allowed to derive a certain amount of satisfaction from the results of the expenditure of his energies, he will not apply himself with the same ardor to accomplish and attain those results.

The existence and development of all life in nature depends upon the persistent activity and energy with which every living thing struggles for life; and in order to stimulate and secure this activity and energy, nature guarantees to equal energies or abilities equal rewards, and to superior ability greater rewards; and the certainty of these impartial rewards — in other words, *absolute justice* — is the great stimulus of nature, without which the struggle would cease, and with it all life. In short, *Omnipotence itself does not dispense with justice;* neither can man.

With man the struggle for life is the struggle for wealth, which is the means of life. By wealth, we do not mean exclusively money, but all those acquisitions which serve to clothe, feed, or protect man, for which money is an equivalent. Without wealth man must perish; with it he lives, and his prosperity, comfort, and happiness are in proportion to the amount of wealth he acquires. Every man, therefore, seeks wealth; and

the more certainly that equal energies, under equal circumstances, secure equal rewards, — in other words, equal wealth, — the greater will be the effort of each individual to acquire, by doubled energy and activity, doubled rewards. The more this effort increases, the more universal it becomes, so much greater is the activity and prosperity of society. (Opening theme in a treatise on taxation by William Minot, Jr., published in 1877.)

The luxury tax has fallen into desuetude; but in 1872, under the title, "Die Luxussteuer als Correctiv der Einkommensteuer," Dr. Leon Ritter von Biliński, of the University of Lemberg, quite thoroughly reviewed the subject; and seemed to feel that the tax would be heard of again. He regarded its existence in the early period of statehood as unnecessary, but thought it might, at some time in the future, be restored. He observed that there is no subject of finance-craft which should be handled so cautiously and so firmly as the luxury tax. And it was his opinion, that, while it is rather mischievous for the State to watch the expenses of its citizens for service, equipages, and the like, yet a tax reform such as seemed necessary in certain countries would be possible by means of a proper luxury tax. That such a method would permit the re-

moval of various taxes now imposed: among others, "the consumers' tax on articles that we all individually recognize as necessaries."

He goes on to say, "In order that such a grand reform shall ever be established, people must be convinced that it really would be well to levy a luxury tax"; and, "it should have not only a financial but a high social-political meaning." He states that the object of his work has been "to give an impetus toward convincing people and to show a way of establishing financial reform, and to give a scientific financial solution of the social question."

If it is contended, as it is, that the use of the power of taxation for purposes other than the collection of revenue finds justification in the fact that "the lawmaker must look far enough beyond the general purpose to satisfy himself how any proposed levy is likely to affect the general good," a sufficient answer to such contention would seem to be that the general good is always best subserved by doing what is exactly right, and not what is expedient. (David Ames Wells, "Theory and Practice of Taxation," at page 256.)

The prejudice against any form of sumptuary laws is widespread and deep-rooted. And the same prejudice exists against interference with natural laws of trade. The plan suggested is

intended to be an inquiry — nothing more. It would open the door to "socialism," and considerable doubt arises as to its feasibility. No scheme for state ownership of industries would check the demand for higher wages. A deadlock might in time be created between even the laborers themselves in their various lines. And the difficulties of to-day, of a practical nature, would still be encountered.

If the Reforming-Agitator has a plan which will lift the country out of the slough of despond in which it has been floundering, he should offer it without further delay.

What are his demands and where do they lead?

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